

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----012901 301405Z /43

O R 301245Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7431
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5297

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EAID, MNUC, MASS, PEPR, PK, US, XD
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH AGHA SHAHI 2 JUNE

1. I AM GLAD THE SECRETARY AGREED TO SEE AGHA SHAHI A SECOND TIME DURING SHAHIWDS ATTENDANCE AT UN/SSOD. I WANT TO MAKE SOME OBSERVATIONS FOR CONSIDERATION IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE PROSPECTIVE 2 JUNE SESSION.

2. MANY OF PAKISTAN'S CURRENT PROBLEMS ARE SELF-INFLICTED, AND THE PARTICULAR PRESSURES WE HAVE BEEN PLACING ON PAKISTAN TO INDUCE THEM TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS OUR WAY MAKE EMINENT SENSE IN TERMS OF OUR BILATERAL AND GLOBAL POLICIES. HOWEVER, THOSE PRESSURES -- COLLECTIVELY -- SEEM LIKELY TO ACHIEVE RESULTS WE DO NOT WANT. IT PX TIME WE STEP BACK FROM THE CATALOG OF PARTICULARS TO TAKE A BROAD LOOK AT OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES.

3. AFTER NON-PROLIFERATION, THE NEXT MOST IMPORTANT US OBJECTIVE HERE IS REGIONAL STABILITY. IT SEEMS TO ME LIKELY THAT WE WILL ACTUALLY CREATE INSTABILITY IF WE ALLOW THE COMBINED WEIGHT OF
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USG DISAPPROVALS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION TO THE PAKS, THE AFGHANS, AND OTHERS THAT PAKISTAN CANNOT COUNT ON SIGNIFICANT US SUPPORT. LIKEWISE, WE MAY FORCE PAKISTAN TO RE-EXAMINE ITS POLICY OPTIONS IN WAYS THAT WOULD NOT ENHANCE REGIONAL STABILITY.

4. IN THAT LIGHT THEN, WE SHOULD RE-EXAMINE, THROUGH PAKISTANI EYES, THE MAJOR ELEMENTS ON WHICH WE EXERT PRESSURE:

-- THEY FEEL, DESPITE OUR BEST EXPLANATIONS, THAT OUR POSITION ON THE FRENCH REPROCESSING PLANT IS DISCRIMINATORY AND PUNITIVE.

-- THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY WE HAVE APPLIED THE GLENN AMENDMENT TO CUT OFF NEW AID BEFORE THE CONDITIONS ENVISAGED IN THE AMENDMENT HAVE OCCURRED.

-- WE HAVE NOT BEEN RESPONDING TO THEIR WHEAT NEEDS, AND OUR BUDGET PRESENTATIONS FOR FY 79 HAVE ONLY 200,000 TONS IN PROSPECT WITH NONE IN THE FY 78 SUPPLEMENT.

-- WE HAVE BLUNTLY OPPOSED THEIR DEBT RESCHEDULING PROPOSALS, EFFECTIVELY REFUSING EVEN TO TALK ABOUT THEM IN THE PARIS CONSORTIUM MEETING.

-- WE HAVE BECOME, OVER TIME, A STRICTLY MINOR SOURCE OF ARMAMENTS.

-- WE HAVE BEEN PUSHING THEM HARD ON HEROIN LABS AND ON NARCOTICS CONTROL.

-- AND WE HAVE YET TO CONVEY AN AUTHORITATIVE, UP-TO-DATE APPRAISAL OF OUR OWN ABOUT THE NOW MONTH-OLD REVOLUTION WHICH HAS PUT A MARXIST-LENINIST GOVERNMENT ON THEIR NORTHWESTERN BORDER.

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5. I LIST THESE (AND THERE ARE OTHERS) NOT AS SOME SORT OF SPECIAL PLEA; THESE ARE MATTERS OF CONSIDERED POLICY, FOR THE MOST PART, AND I DO NOT QUARREL WITH THEM. BUT THE TOTAL EFFECT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN, BECAUSE IT IS THE IMPACT OF OUR APPARENT NEGATIVISM TO WHICH THE GOP NOW IS REACTING, AND TO WHICH THE AFGHANS (AND PERHAPS IRAN) COULD ALSO REACT.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5297

EXDIS

6. WHAT THEN CAN BE DONE WITHOUT GIVING THE GOP OR THE FRENCH AN INADVERTENT SIGNAL ON SUCH CRUNCH ITEMS AS THE REPROCESSING ISSUE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SIGNALLING TO THE PAKS (AN TO THE SOVIETS) OUR SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS?

(A) ONE THING WE COULD DO WOULD BE TO DISCUSS FRANKLY WITH THE PAKS, AND WITH THE IRANIANS, THE PROVISION OF F-5ES FROM AMONG THOSE NOW IN THE IIAF SOMETIME AFTER 1980 WHEN THEY BECOME SURPLUS TO IRAN'S NEEDS. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE PAKS COULD NOT GET NEW PRODUCTION F-5ES MUCH BEFORE THEN, IF THEIR ORDER WERE APPROVED TODAY. A DEAL INVOLVING THE IRANIANS HAS ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED INFORMALLY AND APPROVINGLY WITHIN THE PAF, AND IT HAS THE ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE OF A REGIONAL (READ CENTO) SOLUTION. THAT THE AIRCRAFT WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR A PERIOD OF TIME WOULD BE IMMATERIAL; THE GESTURE WOULD BE VERY USEFUL NOW. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT WEAPONS SALES WOULD NOT BE SPECIFICALLY PRECLUDED EVEN IF THE GLENN AMENDMENT WERE TO BE FORMALLY APPLIED AS A RESULT OF A FRENCH DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT.

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(B) MUCH OF THE SAME ARGUMENTS INVOLVING AIRCRAFT CAN BE MADE WITH REGARD TO SHIP TRANSFERS AS WELL; THE PAKS WANT TWO MORE GEARING DESTROYERS, AND WE HAVE PRECIOUS FEW LEFT. A POSITIVE DECISION ON GEARINGS -- OR AT LEAST POSITIVE SIGNALS ON THE SUBJECT -- WOULD ALSO BE SALUTARY.

(C) A PUBLIC REAFFIRMATION OF USG SUPPORT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN, ALONG LINES OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S PUBLICIZED MESSAGE TO GEN ZIA IN JANUARZ, WOULD BE MOST WELCOME HERE.

(D) WE COULD ALSO LOOK FOR SOME LOAN AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE ONE-SHOT DEALS, NOT LIKELY TO BE INTERRUPTED IN MID-STREAM BY IMPOSITION OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT, IF IT MUST IN THE END BE APPLIED. THE FERTILIZER LOAN OF \$25 MILLION PENDING FROM FY77

FUNDS WOULD BE A GOOD EXAMPLE AND ONEHWE COULD BOTH JUSTIFY AND SUPPORT ON GROUNDS OF NEED/DEVELOPMENT, ETC.

(E) ALTHOUGH I KNOW IT IS LATE IN THE GAME, WE SHOULD SOMEHOW SOFTEN THE BLUNTNESS OF OUR PARIS CONSORTIUM POSITIONS ON DEBT RESCHEDULING AND OTHER MATTERS TO MAKE THEM LESS CONFRONTATIONAL AND MORE IN LINE WITH THE DIPLOMATIC APPROACH OF SOME OF OUR CONSORTIUM PARTNERS. OUR PRESENTATION IN PARIS OCCURS JUNE 1 AND QM

(F) IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, WE SHOULD INDICATE TO THE GOP (AND OPTIMALLY AT THE JUNE 1-2 CONSORTIUM MEETING) THAT WE PLAN TO GO WELL BEYOND THE 200,000 TONS OF P.L. 480 WHEAT NOW INDICATED FOR PAKISTAN IN FY 79, IF THE GOP CAN SATISFY US THAT IT HAS AN APPROPRIATE WHEAT SELF-SUFFICIENCY STRATEGY IN PLACE. THIS IS ONE PROPOSAL THAT COULD MAKE A SIGNIFICANT SHORT-TERM IMPACT IN BOLSTERING INTERNAL STABILITY AS THE GOP FACES A 1.5 MILLION TON DEFICIT NEXT WINTER.

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7. I RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE VALID ARGUMENTS AGAINST EACH OF THE ABOVE. HOWEVER, I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE OVER-RIDING REASONS FOR FINDING A WAY TO DO SOME OF THEM. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN, REGIONAL STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA, AND PAKISTAN'S OWN ABILITY TO RETURN IN AN ORDERLY MANNER TO CIVILIAN RULE ARE ALL AT STAKE.
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